

Message Text

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ACTION EA-09

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02

INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

USIA-06 OMB-01 IO-13 SAM-01 SAJ-01 EAE-00 CU-02

ACDA-07 /093 W

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P R 091020Z JUL 76

FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0706

INFO AMCONSUL HONG KONG

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

USLO PEKING

AMEMBASSY TAIPEI

CINCPAC HONOLULU HI

C O N F I D E N T I A L TOKYO 10402

CINCPAC ALSO FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: XGDS-2

TAGS: PFOR, CH, US, JA, UR

SUBJECT: SOCIALIST EDA'S MISSION TO PEKING

REF: TOKYO 10150

SUMMARY: DURING JUNE 23-30 VISIT TO PEKING, JSP LEADER
SABURO EDA RECEIVED STRONG IMPRESSION THAT PRC POLICIES
ARE STABLE AND THAT THERE IS LITTLE LIKELIHOOD THAT
SINO-SOVIET RAPPROCHEMENT WOULD DEVELOP. EDA SAID
THE CHINESE CALLED FOR EARLY NORMALIZATION OF US-PRC
RELATIONS. IN RESPONSE TO MESSAGE FROM PM MIKI,
PRC VICE PREMIER LI HSIEN-NIEN REITERATED PEKING'S
FIRM STAND ON HEGEMONY AND A PEACE-FRIENDSHIP TREATY.
LI INDICATED HESITANCE ABOUT CONCLUDING THE PFT WITH THE
PRESENT GOJ CABINET, BECAUSE OF ITS POLITICAL DIFFICULTIES,
AND ACCUSED FONMIN MIYAZAWA OF EMPLOYING "DELAYING
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TACTICS" WITH HIS "FOUR POINTS." END SUMMARY.

1. DURING WEEK VISIT TO PEKING, MODERATE WING JAPAN SOCIALIST PARTY VICE CHAIRMAN SABURO EDA RECEIVED STRONG IMPRESSION OF STABILITY IN PRC FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC POLICIES. EDA PROVIDED US FOLLOWING ACCOUNT. DURING SEVEN HOURS OF TALKS WITH JAPAN-CHINA FRIENDSHIP VICE CHAIRMAN CHANG HSING-SHAN AND A MEETING WITH VICE PREMIER LI HSIEN-NIEN, EMPHASIS WAS ON THE DANGEROUSNESS OF THE "AGGRESSIVE SUPERPOWER," THE SOVIET UNION, AND CHINA'S DESIRE TO IMPROVE TIES WITH JAPAN AND THE "DEFENSIVE SUPERPOWER," THE US. CHANG TOLD EDA THAT PEKING DOES NOT RPT NOT EXPECT WAR WITH THE SOVIET UNION IN THE NEXT TWO TO FIVE YEARS BUT A "SINO-SOVIET WAR IS INEVITABLE WITHIN TWENTY-FIVE YEARS." EDA WAS ALSO CONVINCED THAT PRC POLICIES WOULD NOT CHANGE AFTER THE DEATH OF CHAIRMAN MAO. HE LABELED FORMER VICE PREMIER TENG HSIAO-PING'S FALL AS AN ELEMENT OF NATURAL AND UNALARMING TRANSITION FROM ONE GENERATION OF LEADERSHIP TO ANOTHER.

2. EDA ADMITTED TO US THAT HE MAY HAVE BEEN CARELESS REPORTING CHINESE REMARKS ON US-PRC RELATIONS TO PRESS AFTER HIS RETURN. CHANG HE TOLD US, DID NOT RPT NOT SAY "A TREATY" WOULD BE CONCLUDED BETWEEN THE US AND PRC SHORTLY AFTER US ELECTIONS (SEE REFTEL). HOWEVER CHANG, WHOM EDA NOTED IS NOT AN EXPERT ON THE US, EXPRESSED HOPE THAT US-PRC RELATIONS COULD BE NORMALIZED QUICKLY, HOPEFULLY SOON AFTER US-PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS. CHANG'S CALL FOR EARLY NORMALIZATION WITH THE US, AS WELL AS FOR QUICK CONCLUSION OF THE JAPAN-CHINA PEACE FRIENDSHIP TREATY, WAS MADE IN CONTEXT OF CONCERN OVER MOSCOW'S HEGEMONIC AMBITIONS. CHANG ADDED THAT REGARDLESS OF IDENTITY OF NEXT US PRESIDENT, US-PRC TIES SHOULD IMPROVE. ASKED BY EDA ABOUT TAIWAN, CHANG SAID THE US MUST BREAK DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS, ABROGATE THE DEFENSE TREATY, AND REMOVE ALL TROOPS FROM TAIWAN. RECALLING THE "JAPANESE MODEL," CHANG SAID THE US COULD MAINTAIN THE SAME ADMINISTRATIVE ARRANGEMENTS (I.E. FOR TRADE, CULTURAL EXCHANGE, ETC) WITH TAIWAN
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AS JAPAN.

3. EDA TOLD US HE HAD MET WITH PRIME MINISTER MIKI JUST PRIOR TO VISITING PEKING AND TAKEN A MESSAGE FROM THE PRIME MINISTER TO CHINESE LEADERS. IT WAS VERY CLEAR FROM HIS CONVERSATION WITH PM MIKI, EDA SAID, THAT THE PM IS WILLING TO INCLUDE ARTICLE SEVEN OF THE '72 COMMUNIQUE (THE ANTI-HEGEMONY CLAUSE)

USING IDENTICAL LANGUAGE, IN THE TEXT OF A PFT. EDA INFORMED VICE PREMIER LI HSIEN-NIEN OF MIKI'S ATTITUDE. IN RESPONSE, LI REITERATED THAT THERE COULD BE NO RETREAT FROM THE LANGUAGE OF THE COMMUNIQUE AND THEN PROBED TO COMPREHEND JAPANESE RELUCTANCE ON THIS POINT. LI INDICATED THAT THE CHINESE HAVE DOUBTS ABOUT MIKI'S POLITICAL POSITION AND ARE SOMEWHAT HESITANT TO CONCLUDE THE PFT WITH A MAN OF LIMITED TENURE AND PERHAPS DOUBTFUL MANDATE. LI ASKED WHAT MOTIVATED FONMIN MIYAZAWA TO MAKE HIS FOUR POINT PROPOSAL AND THEN HE TOLD EDA HE THOUGHT MIYAZAWA WAS USING THE FOUR POINT PROPOSAL AS A DELAYING TACTIC. HEGEMONY IS HEGEMONY, LI ASSERTED, AND IT SHOULD NOT BE NECESSARY FOR EACH COUNTRY TO GIVE ITS OWN DEFINITION OF THE WORD. EDA NEVERTHELESS SEEMED TO THINK THAT LI ATTACHED MORE IMPORTANCE TO WHAT THE JAPANESE PM STATED THAN TO WHAT OTHERS, INCLUDING THE FONMIN, MIGHT SAY.

4. EDA TOLD US HE HAD BRIEFED THE PM EARLIER IN THE DAY AND HAD SUGGESTED THAT MIKI AND MIYAZAWA ATTEND A DIET LOWER HOUSE FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE SESSION JULY 13, WHERE EDA WILL POSE QUESTIONS ABOUT THE GOVERNMENT'S ATTITUDE. EDA ACKNOWLEDGED THAT BECAUSE OF MIKI'S POLITICAL TROUBLES HE WAS UNSURE WHETHER MIKI WOULD ATTEND OR WHETHER MIKI WOULD BE ABLE TO RECONFIRM PUBLICLY WHAT EDA UNDERSTANDS MIKI'S REAL POSITION ON HEGEMONY TO BE. BUT, EDA IMPLIED THAT A CATEGORIC STATEMENT BY PM MIKI ON THE INCLUSION OF THE HEGEMONY CLAUSE IN THE PFT MIGHT AT LEAST HELP ALLAY CHINESE SUSPICIONS ABOUT MIKI'S OWN ATTITUDE.

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5. AFTER THANKING HIS HOSTS FOR SUPPORT ON RECOVERY FROM THE RUSSIANS BY JAPAN OF THE NORTHERN TERRITORIES, EDA SAID HE EXPLAINED TO THE CHINESE THAT STRONG, PUBLIC SUPPORT FROM PEKING ON THE ISSUE CAUSED THE SOCIALISTS IN JAPAN DIFFICULTIES, BECAUSE OF THE PRO-CHINESE AND PRO-RUSSIAN SPLIT IN THE JSP. EDA SAID HE URGED THE CHINESE TO BE LESS VIGOROUS AND VOCAL IN THEIR SUPPORT ON THE ISSUE.

6. COMMENT: THIS IS THE MOST EXPLICIT REFERENCE WE HAVE HEARD RECENTLY, TO THE INEVITABILITY OF WAR BETWEEN CHINA AND THE SOVIET UNION. COUPLED WITH HIS ESPOUSAL BY CHANG HSING-SHAN OF BETTER PRC-JAPAN AND PRC-US TIES, CHANG(HE AT LEAST) APPEARS TO BELIEVE IN THE DURABILITY OF THE SINO-SOVIET

SPLIT WITH OR WITHOUT MAO.

7. COMMENTS BY LI HSIEN-NIEN ARE ALSO THE CLEAREST EXPLICATION OF THE CHINESE ATTITUDE TOWARD JAPANESE LEADERS IN CONNECTION WITH PFT. HERETOFORE, THEY HAVE SIMPLY CALLED FOR MIKI "RESOLVE" TO CONCLUDE THE TREATY BUT HAD NOT EXPLICITLY MENTIONED MIKI'S POSSIBLY LIMITED TENURE AS A FACTOR. WE AND THE FONOFF HAD, AS REPORTED, ASSUMED THIS WAS RELEVANT. THIS IS ALSO THE FIRST TIME OF WHICH WE ARE AWARE, THAT ANY CHINESE LEADER HAS CALLED MIYAZAWA'S FOUR POINTS A "DELAYING TACTIC." THERE HAS BEEN EVIDENCE, HOWEVER, THAT THE CHINESE HOLD MIYAZAWA IN LOW ESTEEM, PROBABLY BECAUSE HE WAS INSTRUMENTAL IN RESTORING AIRLINK WITH TAIWAN AND REPAIRING GOJ RELATIONS WITH ROK. THIS ALL SUGGESTS TO US THAT CHINESE HAVE CONCLUDED AT THIS STAGE THAT THERE IS LITTLE POINT IN MAKING SPECIAL EFFORT TO PROCEED WITH THE TREATY AT LEAST UNTIL THE FATE OF THE MIKI CABINET IS CLEARER, (TO SAY NOTHING OF THEIR OWN POLITICAL PROSPECTS).
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